WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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The Unemployed.

I am the shifting sand beneath the walls
Ye build and call the State. I am the Fear
That haunts you in your boasting and your dreams;
Your dread youth's lost occasions! Yea, I am
The corse beneath the fabric of your Dream!

I am the shifting sand beneath the State,
Your laws, your customs, creeds, I undermine.
I laugh at your conventions, meant to bind
Your creeds. To me they purvey only lies.
So as ye build, I bury that ye build;
The walls ye rear upon me do decay.

I am the dream of Evil you have dreamed,
The uncouth Hun, the Vandal, and the Goth;
The savage come again to leer, and laugh
Into forgetfulness the domes ye build.
Your learning, culture, visions—these shall fade,
And I shall pour your wisdom into pools
To sink and fail, and so be lost to man.
I am the youngest Anarch of the world;
I neither love nor hate, I only leer,
A gibbering ghost of manhood, o'er your dreams.

I am your Brother driven forth to die!
These are your cities, empires, and demesnes—
And these your doles—to toil!—and still to toil!
To render unto Caesar, not the tithe,
But all, that Caesar of his will bestow.
That in his wisdom 'recompense' is writ—
The helot I, your brother equal born!

These are your cities; I will make them dust!
These are your empires; they shall disappear
These your demesnes—Forgetfulness shall be
Of all ye said, or did, or hoped, or sung!
Ye did inherit much, and did take all;
So I shall ravish in its bloom your hope,
Shall make your boast of culture all a lie,
Shall make you know the emptiness of dreams!

Hear once again the word of him ye scorn!
I am that Ishmael ye have doomed to die!
I am the fair Occasions ye have flung
Aside as void of value and of life.
I am the Fear that haunts you in your halls,
And senates, and the temples of your God.
And as your systems crumble and decay,
Heed well that I did tell you and now tell:
I am the shifting sand beneath the State!

—(Author Unknown.)

AN EXTRACT.

We hear a lot about Socialism breaking up the home, but as a consequence of capitalism what is the lot of the crew of our merchant tramps. Let Jack London show:

"Where are the mothers of those twenty and odd men on the "Ghost"? It strikes me as unnatural and unhealthful that men should be totally separated from women and herd through the world by themselves. Coarseness and savagery are the inevitable results. These men about me should have wives and sisters and daughters; then would they be capable of softness, and tenderness, and sympathy. As it is, not one of them is married. In years and years not one of them has been in contact with a good woman, or within the influence or redemption, which irresistibly radiates from such a creature. There is no balance in their lives. Their masculinity which, in itself is of the brute, has been over-developed. The other and spiritual side of their natures has been dwarfed—atrophied in fact.

"They are a company of celibates, grinding harshly against one another, and daily growing more calloused from the grinding. It seems to me impossible sometimes that they ever had mothers. It would appear that they are a half-brute, half-human species, a race apart, wherein there is no such thing as sex; that they are hatched out by the sun like turtle eggs, or receive life in some similar and sordid fashion ;and that all their days they fester in brutality and viciousness and in the end die as unlovely as they have lived.'"—Such is what Capitalism makes of what were once innocent little babes at their mother's breast.

Lessons in Economics.

By A Student.

No. 7.

Surplus Value and Principles of Socialism

The following extract is from "Revolutionary Socialism and the Woman's Movement," by Lily G. Wilkinson—S.L.P. Press, Glasgow, in which the basic principles of Socialist economics are outlined.

The development of society is conditioned by the invention and use of those instruments with which the whole wealth of society is produced. Throughout history the owners of the most important means of producing wealth have been enabled by the power of ownership to form separate and dominant classes in society. The resulting conflict of interests between those who had the power and privileges of ownership and those who were disinherited caused perpetual struggles between the classes. In modern times the struggle is between capitalist class and working class. With the introduction of machinery into industry and the expropriation of the peasantry the power of industrial capital was enormously increased. The owners of the new productive machinery formed the rising capitalist class. The working class, on the other hand, was largely recruited from the expropriated peasantry, who, being deprived of their lands, were forced to enter the towns and there to live by selling themselves to the capitalist owners as workers of the machines. Thus capitalism acquired an enormous impetus, and the foundations of modern wage slavery were laid.

The wages paid to such workers represent the price of the **labor power** which they sell to the owners of the machinery of production. Labor power being the only thing which a member of the dispossessed class has for sale, and by the sale of which he can live, he is forced to bring that labor power (and he himself goes along with it of course) into the market, to endeavour to sell it there for what it will fetch, in just the same way as any other goods are sold. If the supply of labor power decreases relatively to the demand, the price will go up. Thus the price (wages) constantly rises and falls above and below a certain point—that centre being the cost of production (or, more correctly, the **value**) of labor power. The cost of production of labor power is equal to the amount of labor which is necessarily expended upon the production of those things which create, maintain, and reproduce that labor power. This, in the long run and on the average, is what a worker will get by the sale of his power to labor—only this and nothing more.

Now this bargain between capitalist and worker must also be understood from the capitalist's point of view. Why the worker has to make the bargain is obvious; he has no other means of living, But why does the capitalist make the bargain? Because in operating the tools of production, with their wonderful modern productive powers, the workers will produce more than the equivalent of that amount of wealth which the capitalist must return to them in the form of wages in order that they may go on living and come back to work another day. **In the capacity of owners the capitalists appropriate and enjoy this surplus wealth created by the labor of the working class;** not, be it marked, because they take any active part in production, but merely because **they are owners.** To the owner goes the product.

When the workers themselves will own and control the machinery of production which they alone operate, they will enjoy the full product of their labor, but so long as there is a parasitic master class standing between them and their instruments they will be robbed of the greater part of that which they produce.

Of old, the owner of the tool was also its operator; production was then an **individual** affair. To-day, by the highly organised division of labor, production has become **co-operative,** or social. **Ownership,** however, is still **private** or **individual.** This brings about a contradiction at the very heart of society. The development from private production to social production has yet to be completed by the development from private ownership to social ownership. Nothing short of this is socialism. All reformation of the present capitalist system is useless to the workers, since by the system of buying and selling labor power which capitalism makes necessary to them, they are for ever robbed by a small minority in society—the owners, or capitalist class. And **this robbery is always increasing in degree**; the result of improved productive methods is a lessening of the demand for labor, and, consequently, an increase of the "unemployed army," i.e., an increased supply of labor in relation to the demand for it. In this way wages are lowered and capitalist robbery becomes greater; and greater also becomes the poverty, degradation, and slavery of the workers.

Thus the only hope of the workers is Socialism. To build their hopes and waste their energy and resources on attempts at reforming capitalism is mere illusion. Now, in all this, the interests of working women are just the same as the interests of working men—directly opposed to the interests of the members of the capitalist class, women and men alike. The question is one of **class,** not of **sex.** Sex antagonism may have a very practical interest for the women of the bourgeoisie, but for women of the working class the practical question is the question of **class antagonism.**

—Lily Gair Wilkinson.

The robbery of the working class by the capitalist class is always increasing in degree. The chasm between the two classes is ever widening.

Even the very conservative figures of the capitalists tell us that what could be purchased on an average in the Australian capital towns for 17/2 in 1902 cost 22/10 in 1914.

The workers have not even maintained their standard of living, for the worker who was receiving £3 a week wages in 1904 should have been getting £4 a week in 1914 to have the same purchasing power. Very few, if any, of the workers have had such monetary increase in wages. Thus the sovereign of 1904 was only worth 13/4 in 1914.

In 1912 the output of the manufacturing industries in Australia was £148,775,407. Of this amount £31,287,942 represented wages and salaries paid to employees equal to 21.31 per cent.

In 1915 the percentage had fallen to 19.61 per cent.; the capitalists thus robbing the workers nearly 1.70 per cent. more in 1915 than in 1912.

(To be Continued.)

Economics.

A CORRECTION.

In the issue of the "I.S." of August 18th, under the title of "Lessons in Economics," by "A Student," the following appeared:—

In the Commonwealth Year Book, Mr. Knibbs gives us the following information as to how the division of the value between labor and capital is effected:

In 1915 the value of manufactured industries in Australia was £169,086,700. Of this amount £33,210,654 represented wages and salaries paid to employees (these figures include superintendents, managers and other highly paid officials), equal to 19.61 per cent., or about one-fifth.

The value produced in the years 1912-15 was:—

	Employees	Produced
1912	327,456	£148,775,407
1913	337,101	161,560,763
1914	331,579	166,405,923
1915	321,071	169,086,700

The wages paid in 1912 amounted to £31,287,942.

By 1915 the number of employees had decreased 6,385. The amount of wages had increased £1,923,162, whereas the value produced had increased £20,311,293.

So the workers of Australia, out of an increased production of over twenty millions, got less than two millions of that increase as their share.

Thus £18,388,131 MORE "surplus-value" went to the capitalists in 1915 than in 1912. Labor produces all value, yet only gets about one-fifth returned in the shape of wages as their "fair" share!

The "Student," whilst quoting figures for the manufacturing industries, has overlooked the fact that embodied in the £169,086,700 (total value of finished commodities) is the value of raw material used in the process of manufacture. This value is produced by those employed in the primary industries, and forms the constant capital to which value is added during the process of manufacture. Its value is added to, not produced, by the workers in the manufacturing industries.

The three component parts of any finished commodity are:—

Constant capital—The value of material used.

Variable capital—Wages paid for labor power.

Surplus value—The value added during the process of manufacture by the unpaid labor of the workers after they have replaced the wages.

Taking Mr. Knibbs' figures for 1914 (the latest official book is not yet to hand), and applying the above to them, it would be as follows:—Constant capital, £103,085,466 (fuel and light included); variable capital, £34,090,428; surplus value, £29,230,029; value of fin. comts., £166,405,923.

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A Blue Pig Parable.

AND A COMMENT.

C.F.C.

In a recent issue of the Australian "Worker," one, Frank Cotton, retails "a quaint old story which aptly illustrates how wars originate and how peace is brought about." The legend deals with two rival monarchs whose chief recreation was pig raising.

Awaking in quarrelsome mood after a night's carouse, one of the royal pig raisers sent a cryptic message to his rival in the same business, reading thus:—"Send me a blue pig or——." In reponse came the answer from the royal owner of the opposition piggery: "I haven't any blue pig, but if I had ——." Thus was the "honor" of these noble loafers outraged. The insult of course could only be wiped out in blood. Following which these royal personages—unlike their shrewder prototypes of to-day—put themselves at the head of their respective knights (clad in iron foundries), retainers and yeomen, and dashed into the "greatest game of all."

For a year the slaughter continued. Fields were left untilled, cattle were slaughtered, women and babies died, while hunger and disease were everywhere. Worst of all, even the royal pigs escaped to the woods, where they were commandeered by appreciative wolves. At this stage, a parley for the disposal of prisoners was arranged, and this business having been satisfactorily settled, the representative of King II. asked the diplomat of King I. what his sovereign meant by his first message:—"Send me a blue pig or ——." "Or any other kind of pig you can spare," was the answer. "But," continued this diplomat, "what did **your** king mean when he replied, "I haven't any blue pig, but if I had——." "If I had, I would have sent one with pleasure," said the other.

This conversation when reported at headquarters, resulted in diplomatic negotiations being opened, and so the war, a result of a misunderstanding, was ended by "a peace with honor."

This is not bad as a fable, but "as a quaint old story which aptly illustrates how wars originate"—well, the "explanation" is as quaint as the story. For this story implies that wars are merely the result of "misunderstandings" and "muddles." That is why it is pitiful to see such a story paraded in a Labor paper.

Wars are NOT the result of "misunderstandings" or "muddles."

Labor (physical and mental) produces all wealth. But the owners of the applied labor power, the working class, do not own the wealth so produced. That Class receives not its product in full, but the price of its one commodity, Labor Power.

Just as we have a Meat Market where the commodity steak is sold for 1/ per lb., so we have a Labor Market where human commodities—working men, working women and working children—are bought at so much per hour, day, or week. In this Labor Market the commodity, mental and physical energy, or Labor Power, which is contained in the workers' body, is bought and sold under the same conditions as eggs, flour or chaff. **His** price is called Wages, and the amount so received by him is fixed by the law, which determines the price of all commodities, the law of Supply and Demand.

Just as the price of steak is high when the Demand exceeds the Supply, and is low when the Supply exceeds the Demand, so the price of the perishable commodity, Labor-Power, is high when workers are plentiful. Normally workers are plentiful—the unemployed is a necessary adjunct to Capitalism—and so the price of Labor Power (that is, Wages) is found to be the sum necessary to cover the cost of food, clothing and shelter and reproduction of species. The fact that some wage-earners get a few shillings per week over this subsistence level, and some a few shillings under, does not alter this economic fact, which gives the position of the workers **as a Class.**

Thus the workers' wages do NOT depend upon the amount of their output which, less the wage equivalent, is kept by the Capitalists, who have hired the lives of the wage-earners in sections. Now to realise the surplus value stored in the commodities thus appropriated (representing labor unpaid for) by the Capitalist class, a market is necessary.

It is clear that, generally speaking, the **home market will** not suffice for the sale of these commodities, since the workers cannot buy back out of their wages all the wealth they have produced. Thus **foreign markets become a necessity.** That is why the great capitalist nations watch jealously the extensions of others' "spheres of influence," especially those which give one nation a competition-pull over another by possession of, say, a coastal strip, oil fields, coal or iron deposits, etc. It is this competition in the world market that results in National Wars—a natural outgrowth of the economic war or Class War raging at home.

And let us not forget that the workers of the various nations are each year producing more and more wealth, which means that the competition in the world market is becoming keener and keener, which latter is reflected in the Speeding Up or Scientific Management schemes which are becoming a feature of present day production in all capitalist countries.

Speaking of the cause of all modern wars—Competition in the world market—Professor T. N. Carver (Department of Political Economy Harvard University, U.S.A.) in his book "Sociology and Social Progress," says:—"While competition is absent, Commerce is a bond of peace and goodwill, between those who sell in return. But the moment that two nations embark extensively in the same line of industry, that moment Commerce becomes a sword, dividing and setting at enmity those who are rivals for the same markets. . . . The prosperity of one is the other's destruction. Such nations stand to each other as two Indian tribes, where there is but game enough for one."

Every new subscriber you get for "The International Socialist" is a blow struck at Capitalism.

Revolutionary Political Action

A Reply

By J.A.D.

Com. Feinberg's definition of Revolutionary Political Action is: "That action on the part of the wage workers which aims at capturing political or governmental power" with the object of bringing about "a complete change from capitalistic ownership and control of industries—to that of ownership and control by the whole community."

Such action would be more fitly named Revolutionary Parliamentary Action.

I maintain Revolutionary Political Action is something more. It is essentially a synthetical process, and cannot be separated from its vital function—its concrete expression, i.e., the recruiting of the Industrial Organisation of Labor; whereby it rejuvenates itself—its very life and existence must flow from the Industrial Organisation, of which the Revolutionary Political Party will be but the reflex or shadow.

To just put forward the abstract expression of Revolutionary Political Action—i.e., its parliamentary aspect—is to destroy the real meaning of the term.

If, as Com. Feinberg states, the making of Socialism the test question is the real function of Revolutionary Political Action, does he think the votes secured by the S.L.P. in New South Wales, numbering about 10,000, were for Socialism v. Capitalism, and does it show the numerical strength of the industrial organisation, without which political victory would be but a debacle?

Does Com. Feinberg think there are 10,000 intelligent class conscious revolutionary Socialists in New South Wales? Or are they not merely 10,000 votes cast on sentiment, and not from a real understanding of the necessity for industrial organisation? It is not the votes—it is the recruits in the Industrial Union that count.

In other words, the making this so-called test question of Socialism, and appealing to the vote on that only—does it not tend to destroy the true meaning of Revolutionary Political Action—the organising of the workers in the union of their industry—without which no Socialism is possible?

The aim of a Revolutionary Political Party is to recruit the industrial arm; hence the Australian Socialist Party by endorsing the Preamble of the Workers' International Industrial Union is a Revolutionary Political Party propagating Industrial Unionism.

The A.S.P. in its recognition and declaration of Industrial Unionism recognises the fact that the emancipation of the working class cannot be brought about by political action only—hence the A.S.P. as now formed is an Industrial Union Propaganda Party.

The unqualified acceptance of the fact that it is absolutely indispensable to have the working class organised on the industrial field on the lines of pro-political or Socialist Industrial Unionism—this is the meaning of the A.S.P. endorsing the Preamble of the W.I.I.U., and consequently it is the duty of the A.S.P. to teach the essential principles of industrial unionism in order to enable the membership to advocate these principles both inside the existing craft unions—to what extent it may still be possible—and outside the Trades Hall movement, and thus carry on that educational propaganda, which will sooner or later crystallise in a world wide army of industrial organised workers.

No mere organising for a referendum periodically on the issue of Socialism v. Capitalism, and counting the heads will do. A Revolutionary Political Party is in the field all the time teaching not politics but economics, and puts up a political party ticket at election time in order to expose politics and the Political State, and in opposition to all capitalistic parties to educate the workers on their class position, and point the way to their emancipation.

Com. Feinberg I know recognises this. Then why does he separate political action from the organising of the industrial forces of labor?

The Industrial Union must be recruited to a sufficient strength before parliamentary activity, in the revolutionary sense can be effective. Then why stress the Parliamentary aspect to the disadvantage of the recruiting of the Industrial Organisation now?

Individualism

By J.M.G.

The fetish of Individualism has received its death blow as a result of this war. The old cry of the individual having a right to do what he likes with his own has lost any value. The British Government have established a precedent which, when carried to its logical conclusion, means that the individual must subordinate his interests to the interests of the community. The Government have issued an order that capital can only be invested in approved securities, also that all foreign bonds and scrip must be handed over to the Treasury—who will issue in Britain their equivalent value.

Our present system of society, established on the basis of individualism, has during the 19th Century envolved along the lines of curtaling the power or rights of the individual. The catch phrases of "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality" have lost the meaning originally applied to them by the capitalists of the early part of the century. Liberty to these people meant free competition, with the liberty to exploit the workers to the fullest extent; Fraternity, that all men were brethren, which was a mere parrot cry without any meaning in the daily economic practice; whilst Equality became an empty phrase as the worker became more and more enslaved economically, as the tools of production became concentrated in the hands of a diminishing number of capitalists, eliminating that equality of opportunity which existed under a simpler form of production.

Individualism was rampant at the beginning of the 19th century, but the antagonism between the industrial capitalists and the landed interests, and the humanitarian efforts of groups of individuals, led to many restrictions of the liberties of these people to do what they liked with their own. Granted the many laws passed by parliament curtailing the hours of labor, abolishing child slavery, with Factory and Workshop Acts, were inadequate to alleviate to any extent the evils of the profiteering system, the basis of production, yet the principle of controlling individual greed having been established has grown, and the war has the means of extending that principle, a principle that can only be carried to its logical conclusion by abolishing individual ownership and substituting social ownership.

The evolution that has taken place during the past century points that way, and has created the material conditions to bring about social ownership. The workers have been herded together in large workshops and factories under a system of social production for the markets of the world, with a multiplication of property, the tools of production, in a diminishing number of persons banded together in corporations and trusts. This control of the means of production in a diminishing number of persons makes it easier to expropriate them in the interests of society. And it is necessary, to bring about such a result, that the huge mass of workers of all trades and professions should become conscious of these fundamental truths. It will be necessary that they should recognise their class interests, be conscious that their interests are in opposition to the class who possess the economic power, and by class conscious organisation conquer that economic power and make it subservient to society as a whole.

This class conscious organisation of the workers, when perfected, will, through the instrumentality of other public powers, capture the reins of Government, the organised weapon that is the means of keeping the workers in subjection—not for the purpose of continuing the political State with its class made laws, but to destroy it, and in its place inaugurate the machinery for the administration of the production and distribution of the necessaries and luxuries of life.

It may, however, happen that as this class cosciousness grows amongst the workers, the ruling class, the dictators at present in control, may curtail or abolish those political rights, which in the hands of an unorganised mass of workers, not class conscious, was not a menace to the present system—but in the hands of a class conscious organisation becomes a danger to the continuation of the system of exploitation. This action will force the issue along other lines, will force the workers to use force to accomplish what otherwise would have been a comparatively peaceful revolution.

Such is the position to-day. Individual greed has been decreed by the present ruling class to be subservient to the will of society. Let the workers become conscious of these facts, and by class conscious organisation carry them to their logical conclusion by overthrowing the present exploiting system, and on the ruins build a system of co-operation, where individual greed will play no part as an exploiter, but mutual aid, that old primitive instinct that still persists in humanity, will be given a chance of expressing itself to its fullest capacity.

—"The International," South Africa.

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"DEVIL WORSHIP"

FULLER AND THE RIGHT TO BE LAZY.

"The Sun" of 26/8/17, under the title of "Devil Worship" reports Fuller as having quoted from Paul Lafargue's pamphlet "The Right to be Lazy":—"Let us be lazy in everything except in loving and drinking, except in being lazy." This quotation is from Lessing, and is taken by Lafargue as a text.

Fuller went on to say that the contents of the pamphlet was "a most vicious and blasphemous appeal to the baser sentiments."

Seeing that this pamphlet was published as a refutation of that insane demand of the working class—"The Right to Work," we can understand Fuller's ideas upon the matter. In it Lefargue endeavours to show that "The Right to Work" and the right of ownership by the worker of the wealth produced during the period of work are entirely different, that instead of the cry for Work! Work! Work! and still more Work, the working class should look to the machine as a means of decreasing the hours of toil and thereby adding to the hours of pleasure. The following is the main portion of this pamphlet that is so obnoxious to Fuller and all others who live upon the wealth robbed from the working class:—

THE CONSEQUENCES OF OVER-PRODUCTION.

"A Greek poet of Cicero's time, Antiparos, thus sang of the invention of the water-mill (for grinding grain), which was to free the slave women and bring back the Golden Age: "Spare the arm which turns the mill, O millers, and sleep peacefully. Let the cock warn you in vain that day is breaking. Demeter has imposed upon the nymphs the labor of the slaves, and behold them leaping merrily over the wheel, and behold the axle tree, shaken, turning with its spokes and making the heavy rolling stone revolve. Let us live the life of our fathers, and let us rejoice in idleness over the gifts that the goddess grants us." Alas! the leisure which the pagan poet announced has not come. The blind, perverse and murderous passion for work transforms the liberating machine into an instrument for the enslavement of free men. Its productiveness impoverishes them.

A good working woman makes with her needles only five meshes a minute, while certain circular knitting machines make 30,000 in the same time. Every minute of the machine is thus equivalent to a hundred hours of the workingwomen's labor, or again, every minute of the machine's labor, gives the workingwomen ten days of rest. What is true for the knitting industry is more or less true for all industries reconstructed by modern machinery. But what do we see? In proportion as the machine is improved and performs man's work with an ever increasing rapidity and exactness, the laborer, instead of prolonging his former rest times, redoubles his ardor, as if he wished to rival the machine, O, absurd and murderous competition!

That the competition of man and the machine might have free course, the proletarians have abolished wise laws which limited the labor of the artisans of the ancient guilds; they have suppressed the holidays. Because the producers of that time worked but five days out of seven, are we to believe the stories told by lying economists, that they lived on nothing but air and fresh water? Not so, they had leisure to taste the joys of earth, to make love and to frolic, to banquet joyously in honor of the jovial god of idleness. Gloomy England, immersed in protestantism, was then called "Merrie England." Rabelais, Quevedo, Cervantes, and the unknown authors of the romances make our mouths water with their pictures of those monumental feasts with which the men of that time regaled themselves between two battles and two devastations, in which everything "went by the barrel." Jordaens and the Flemish School have told the story of these feasts in their delightful pictures. Where, O where, are the sublime gargantuan stomachs of those days; where are the sublime brains encircling all human thought? We have indeed grown puny and degenerate. Embalmed beef, potatoes, doctored wine and Prussian schnapps, judiciously combined with compulsory labor have weakened our bodies and narrowed our minds. And the times when man cramps his stomach and the machine enlarges its out-put are the very times when the economists preach to us the Malthusian theory, the religion of abstinence and the dogma of work. Really it would be better to pluck out such tongues and throw them to the dogs.

Because the working class, with its simple good faith, has allowed itself to be thus indoctrinated, because with its native impetuosity it has blindly hurled itself into work and abstinence, the capitalist class has found itself condemned to laziness and forced employment, to unproductiveness an overconsumption. But if the over-work of the laborer bruises his flesh and tortures his nerves, it is also fertile in griefs for the capitalist.

The abstinence to which the productive class condemns itself obliges the capitalists to devote themselves to the over-consumption of the products turned out so riotously by the laborers. At the beginning of capitalist production a century or two ago, the capitalist was a steady man of peaceable habits. He contented himself with one wife or thereabouts. He drank only when he was thirsty, and ate only when he was hungry. He left to the lords and ladies of the court noble virtues of debauchery. To-day every son of the newly rich makes it incumbent upon himself to cultivate the disease for which quicksilver is a specific in order to justify the labors imposed upon the workmen in quicksilver mines; every capitalist crams himself with capons stuffed with truffles and with the choicest brands of wine in order to encourage the breeders of blooded poultry and the growers of Bordelais. In this occupation the organism rapidly becomes shattered, the hair falls out, the gums shrink away from the teeth, the body becomes deformed, the stomach obtrudes abnormally, respiration becomes difficult, the motions become labored, the joints become stiff, the fingers knotted. Others, too feeble in body to endure the fatigues of debauchery, but endowed with the bump of philanthropic discrimination, dry up their brains over political economy, or juridical philosophy in elaborating thick soporific books to employ the leisure hours of compositors and pressmen. The women of fashion live a life of martydom, in trying on and showing off the fairy-like toilets which the seamstresses die in making. They shift like shuttles from morning until night from one gown into another. For hours together they give up their hollow heads to the artists in hair, who at any cost insist on assuaging their passion for the construction of false shignons. Bound in their corsets, pinched in their boots, decollette to make a coal-miner blush, they whirl around the whole night through at charity ball in order to pick up a few cents for poor people,—sanctified souls.

To fulfil his double social function of non-producer and over-consumer, the capitalist was not only obliged to violate his modest taste, to lose his laborious habits of two centuries ago and to give himself up to unbounded luxury, spicy indigesetibles and syphiltic debauches, but also to withdraw from productive labor an enormous mass of men in order to enlist them as his assistants.

Here are a few figures to prove how colossal is this waste of productive forces. According to the census of 1861, the population of England and Wales comprised 20,066,244 persons, 9,776,259 male and 10,289,965 female. If we deduct those too old or too young to work, the unproductive women, boys and girls, then the "ideological professions," such as governors, policemen, clergy, magistrates, soldiers, prostitutes, artists, scientists, etc., next the people exclusively occupied with eating the labor of others under the form of land-rent, interest, dividends, etc. . . there remains a total of eight million individuals of both sexes and of every age, including the capitalists who function in production, commerce, finance, etc. Out of these eight millions the figures run:

Agricultural laborers, including herdsmen servants and farmers' daughters living at home	1,098,261
Factory workers in cotton, wool, hemp, linen silk, knitting ..	642,607
Mine workers..	565,835
Metal workers (blast furnaces, rolling mills, etc.)..	396,998
Domestics	1,208,648

"If we add together the textile workers and the miners, we obtain the figures of 1,208,442; if to the former we add the metal workers, we have a total of 1,039,605 persons; that is to say, in each case a number below that of the modern domestic slaves. Behold the magnificent result of the capitalist exploitation of machines." To this class of domestics, the size of which indicates the stage attained by capitalist civilisation, must still be added the enormous class of unfortunates devoted exclusively to satisfying the vain and expensive tastes of the rich classes: diamond cutters, lace-makers, embroiderers, binders of luxurious books, seamstresses employed on expensive gowns, decorators of villas, etc.

Once settled down into absolute laziness and demoralised by enforced enjoyment, the capitalist class in spite of the injury involved in its new kind of life adapted itself to it. Soon it began to look upon any change with horror. The sight of the miserable conditions of life resignedly accepted by the working class and the sight of the organic degradation engendered by the depraved passion for work increased its aversion for all compulsory labor and all restrictions of its pleasures. It is precisely at that time that, without taking into account the demoralisation which the capitalist class had imposed upon itself as a social duty, the proletarians took it into their heads to inflict work on the capitalists. Artless as they were, they took seriously the theories of work proclaimed by the economists and moralists, and girded up their loins to inflict the practice of these theories upon the capitalists. The proletariat hoisted the banner, "He who will not work Neither shall he Eat." Lyons in 1831 rose up for bullets or work. The federated laborers of March 1871 called their uprising "The Revolution of Work." To these outbreaks of barbarous fury destructive of all capitalist joy and laziness, the capitalists had no other answer than ferocious repression, but they know that if they have been able to repress these revolutionary explosions, they have not drowned in the blood of these gigantic massacres the absurd idea of the proletariat wishing to inflict work upon the idle and reputable classes, and it is to avert this misfortune that they surround themselves with guards, policemen, magistrates and jailors, supported in ilaborious unproductiveness. There is no more room for illusion as to the function of modern armies. They are permanently maintained only to suppress the "enemy within." Thus the forts of Paris and Lyons have not been built to defend the city against the foreigner, but to crush it in case of revolt. And if an unanswerable example be called for, we mention the army of Belgium, that paradise of capitalism. Its neutrality is guaranteed by the European powers, and nevertheless its army is one of the strongest in proportion to its population. The glorious battlefields of the brave Belgian army are the plains of the Borinage and of Charleroi. It is in the blood of the unarmed miners and laborers that the Belgian officers temper their swords and win their epaulets . The nations of Europe have not national armies but mercenary armies. They protect the capitalists against the popular fury which would condemn them to ten hours of mining or spinning. Again, while compressing its own stomach the working class has developed abnormally the stomach of the capitalist class, condemned to over-consumption.

For alleviation of its painful labor the capitalist class has withdrawn from the working class a mass of men far superior to those still devoted to useful production and has condemned them in their turn to unproductiveness and overconsumption. But this troop of useless mouths in spite of its insatiable voracity, does not suffice to consume all the goods which the laborers, brutalised by the dogma of work, produce like madmen, without wishing to consume them and without even thinking whether people will be found to consume them.

Confronted with this double madness of the laborers killing themselves with over-production and vegetating in abstinence, the great problem of capitalist production is no longer to find producers and to multiply their powers but to discover consumers, to excite their appetites and create in them fictitious needs. Since the European laborers, shivering with cold and hunger, refuse to wear the stuffs they weave, to drink the wines from the vineyards they tend, the poor manufacturers in their goodness of heart must run to the ends of the earth to find people to wear their clothes and drink the wines: Europe exports every year goods amounting to billions of dollars to the four corners of the earth, to nations that have no need of them. But the explored continents are no longer vast enough. Virgin countries are needed. European manufacturers dream night and day of Africa, of a lake in the Saharan desert, of a railroad to the Soudan. They anxiously follow the progress of Livingston, Stanley, Du Chaillu; they listen open-mouthed to the marvellous tales of these brave travellers. What unknown wonders are contained in the "dark continent." Fields are sown with elephants' teeth, rivers of cocoanut oil are dotted with gold, millions of backsides, as bare as the faces of Dufaure and Girardin, are waiting cotton goods to teach them decency, and bottles of schnapps and bibles from which they may learn the virtues of civilisation.

But all to no purpose: the over-fed capitalist, the servant class greater in numbers than the productive class, the foreign and barbarous nations, gorged with European goods; nothing, nothing can melt away the mountains of products heaped up higher and more enormous than the pyramids of Egypt. The productiveness of European laborers defies all consumption, all waste.

The manufacturers have lost their bearings and know not which way to turn. They can no longer find the raw material to satisfy the lawless depraved passion of their laborers for work. In our woollen districts dirty and half rotten rags are ravelled out to use in making certain cloths sold under the name of renaissance, which have about the same durability as the promises made to voters. At Lyons, instead of leaving the silk fibre in its natural simplicity and suppleness, it is loaded down with mineral salts, which while increasing its weight, make it friable and far from durable. All our products are adulterated to aid in their sale and shorten their life. Our epoch will be called the "Age of adulteration" just as the first epochs of humanity received the names of "The Age of Stone", "The Age of Bronze", from the character of their production. Certain ignorant people accuse our pious manufacturers of fraud, while in reality the thought which animates them is to furnish work to their laborers, who cannot resign themselves to living with their arms folded. These adulterations, whose sole motive is a humanitarian sentiment, but which bring splendid profits to the manufacturers who practice them, if they are disastrous for the quality of the goods, if they are an inexhaustible source of waste in human labor, nevertheless prove the ingenuous philanthropy of the capitalists, and the horrible derversion of the laborers, who to gratify their vice for work oblige the manufacturers to stifle the cries of their conscience and to violate even the laws of commercial honesty.

And nevertheless, in spite of the over-production of goods, in spite of the adulterations in manufacturing, the laborers encumber the market in countless numbers imploring: Work! Work! Their superabundance ought to compel them to bridle their passion; on the contrary it carries it to the point of paroxysm. Let a chance for work present itself, thither they rush; then they demand twelve, fourteen hours to glut their appetite for work, and the next day they are again thrown out on the pavement with no more food for their vice. Every year in all industries lockouts occur with the regularity of the seasons. Over-work, destructive of the organism, is succeeded by absolute rest during two or four months, and when work ceases the pittance ceases. Since the vice of work is diabolically attached to the heart of the laborers, since its requirements stifle all the other instincts of nature, since the quantity of work required by society is necessarily forbidden by a law strictly enforced to work more than ten hours a day, and as before England remains the first industrial nation of the world.

The experiment tried on so great a scale is on record; the experience of certain intelligent capitalists is on record. They prove beyond a doubt that to strengthen human production it is necessary to reduce the hours of labor and multiply the pay days and feast days, yet the French nation is not convinced. But

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"DEVIL WORSHIP."

Continued from page 3.

limited by consumption and by the supply of raw materials, why devour in six months the work of a whole year; why not distribute it uniformly over the twelve months and force every workingman to content himself with six or five hours a day throughout the year instead of getting indigestion from twelve hours during six months? Once assured of their daily portion of work, the laborers will no longer be jealous of each other, no longer fight to snatch away work from each other's hands and bread from each other's mouths, and then, not exhausted in body and mind, they will begin to practice the virtues of laziness.

Brutalised by their vice, the laborers have been unable to rise to the conception of this fact, that to have work for all it is necessary to apportion it like water on a ship in distress. Meanwhile certain manufacturers in the name of capitalist exploitation have for a long time demanded a legal limitation of the work day. Before the commission of 1860 on professional education, one of the greatest manufacturers of Alsace, M. Bourcart, of Guebwiller, declared: "The day of twelve hours is excessive and ought to be reduced to eleven, while work ought to be stopped at two o'clock on Saturday. I advise the adoption of this measure, although it may appear onerous at first sight. We have tried it in our industrial establishments for four years and find ourselves the better for it, while the average production, far from having diminished, has increased." In his study of machines M. F. Passy quotes the following letter from a great Belgian manufacturer M. Ottevaere: "Our machines, although the same as those of the English spinning mills, do not produce what they ought to produce or what those same machines would produce in England, although the spinners there work two hours a day less. We all work two good hours too much. I am convinced that if we worked only eleven hours instead of thirteen we should have the same product and we should consequently produce more economically." Aain, M. Leroy Beaulieu affirms that it is a remark of a great Belgian manufacturer that the weeks in which a holiday falls result in a product not less than ordinary weeks.

An aristocratic government has dared to do what a people, duped in their simplicity by the moralists, never dared. Despising the lofty and moral industrial considerations of the economists, who like the birds of ill omen, croaked that to reduce by one hour the work in factories was to decree the ruin of English industry, the government of England has if the miserable reduction of two hours has increased English production by almost one-third in ten years, what breathless speed would be given to French production by a legal limitation of the working day to three hours. Cannot the laborers understand that by over-working themselves they exhaust their own strengeth and that of their progeny, that they are used up and long before their time come to be incapable of any work at all, that absorbed and brutalised by this single vice they are no longer men but pieces of men, that they kill within themselves all beautiful faculties, to leave nothing alive and flourishing except the furious madness for work. Like Arcadian parrots, they repeat the lesson of the economist: "Let us work, let us work to increase the national wealth.' O, idiots, it is because you work too much that the industrial equipment develops slowly. Stop braying, and listen to an economist, no other than M. L. Reybaud, whom we were fortunate enough to lose a few months ago. "It is in general by the conditions of hand-work that the revolution in methods of labor is regulated. As long as handwork furnishes its service at a low price, it is lavished, while efforts are made to economise it when its services become more costly."

To force the capitalists to improve their machines of wood and iron it is necessary to raise wages and diminish the working hours of the machines of flesh and blood. Do you ask for proofs? They can be furnished by the hundreds. In spinning, the self-acting mule was invented and applied at Manchester because the spinners refused to work such long hours as before. In America the machine is invading all branches of farm production, from the making of butter to the weeding of wheat. Why, because the American, free and lazy, would prefer a thousand deaths to the bovine life of the French peasant. Ploughing, so painful and so crippling to the laborer in our glorious France, is in the American West an agreeable open-air pastime, which he practices in a sitting posture, smoking his pipe non-chalantly."

A. S. P.

NEWS AND NOTES.

Central Executive.

A meeting of the C. E. will be held on Saturday September 1st.

A. S. Reardon, Gen. Secretary.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

To lecture for an hour on Democracy, Civilization and Education needs expert marshalling of facts and ability to condense them. Mr. C. J. Meade succeeded admirably in this most difficult task, when he spoke from this platform on August 19th. Co-operation was the key-note of his address, and mentioning two other lecturers appearing before working class audiences that evening, he regretted cleavage in the ranks, where to-day there should be close union.

Mr. Mead touched on some of the things for which modern nations have to thank ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, and said it was unfair to belittle past history. Civilization and democracy have a long way to go yet. A century hence the people might not care twopence for the ballot box, or one big union. Our descendants might smile at both. Representative Government was good enough before trains were invented, and a man journeying a distance was in danger of highway robbers; but to-day the Government should be by initiative and referendum.

The lecturer devoted some time to the aspects of the strike as a weapon, and was subjected afterwards to the criticism of two members who viewed the matter from this Party's position, putting the case according to the A.S.P. principles and policy.

Mr. Mead thinks the strike weakens all the time, and does not bring down the other side. One Big Union would mean possibly no strike, and should be organised labor in control of all the means of production.

If we were a scientifically educated community, these things would be apparent to every one. In speaking of workers studying economics, the lecturer said these men were better educated than many others, who had been through a University course.

Dances at the Hall have had splendid attendances recently, a result satisfactory in more ways than one.

Sunday teas continue to be well attended, and form a pleasant method of bringing members together for exchange of ideas. More help is urgently needed, however, with the work of the teas. When two or three have to be captain, and cook and crew, they think the number of passengers quite out of proportion to the manning of the ship.

A number of new pamphlets have been added to the literature department and sell well. The sale of the "I.S." is on the increase. Members were pleased to note the publication (in last issue) of the W.E.A. circular and this Branch's official reply to it.

J. M., Press Corr.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED.

H. Dowser, 1/; M. Considine, 2/; G. Lee, 2/; R. Spad, 2/; W. Barnett, 2/; D. Irving, 2/; H. Smith, 1/; T. Hythen, 2/; H. Kelly, 1/; T. Bail, 2/; T. Norman, 1/; F. Woodtly, 2/; W. Hope, 2/; V. Rowan, 2/; C. Richards, 1/; J. Joyce, 1/; C. Brady, 1/; J. Midday, 1/; J. Tobin, 2/; B. Howard, 2/; C. Hobb, 2/; J. Flynn, 2/; W. Travis, 2/; F. Belle, 4/; W. Morrison, 4/; B. Allen, 1/; G. Green, 2/; P. Lauritren, 1/; M. Falron, 1/; J. Friedrich, 2/; W. Booth, 2/; P. O'Connor, 4/; A. White, 4/; L. Gray, 4/; T. Foley, 4/; H. Kelly, 1/; J. Cocking, 1/; F. Schmidt, 1/; W. Brophy, 1/; E. Parry, 1/; H. Hoad, 4/; F. Northage, 5/; M. Goudie, 5/; Mrs. McGeorge, 1/; J. Hamilton, 2/; P. Cain, 1/; H. Barcan, 1/; P. Kreslin, 1/; J. McV., 4/; C. Crane, 1/; T. Bourke, 1/; R. Palmer, 4/; H. Barcan, 1/; A. Hilder, 1/; J. Kilburn, 1/; H. McNeil, 4/; W. Borserini, 4/; T. Seroggs, 4/; F. Currie, 4/; C. Johnston, 5/; E. Rapps (America), £2/1/1; A. Nelson, 1/; H. Pedersen, 4/; T. Oates, 1/; A. Frachrmann, 2/; G. Kerr, 2/; C. Wallace, 2/; H. Summers, 2/; F. Renshaw, 1/; W. Crane, 1/; H. Lucas, 1/; P. Freighan, 1/; A. Vincent, 1/; Miss Woodbury, 4/; P. Brookfield, 2/; C. Dale, 2/; C. Barrett, 2/; A. Speek, 1/; C. Smith, 2/; Mrs. Wallace, 1/; Mrs. Moir, 1/; J. Story, 1/; A. Needham, 1/; S. Sloane, 1/; W. Beezely, 2/; J. O'Reilly, 2/; F. Spurr, 2/; T. Cherrington, 2/; T. McInerney, 2/; A. Pickering, 2/; A. Roberts, 4/; R. Lusebrink, 1/; Russian Association, Melbourne, 2/; G. McFarlane, 4/; F. Searsbrick, 2/; Mrs. Casey, 4/; P. Campbell, 6/; T. Burgess, 1/; C. Beadnell, 1/; K. Olsen, 2/; F. Gasperin, 2/; Mr. Martin, 1/; B. Mitchell, 2/; C. Pilche, 1/; J. Tait, 1/; W. Dicksen, 2/; P. Gallas, 2/; P. Seyaler, 2/; A. Stevens, 1/; T. Lorenz, 4/; A. Kasanov, 1/; S. Aanensen, 2/.

PRESS FUND.

A.J., 9d; J. Kilburn, 2/6; Enthusiastic, 4/; Brisbane Branch, £2; Melbourne Branch, 13/; Enthusiastic, 4/; Mt. Larcom Branch, 10/.

The Holy Community

By ROSEY.

In our daily lying sheets called newspapers we have, since the commencement of the present strike, been treated to a larger dose of the "community" dope than usual. The press is permeated with a profound desire to maintain the convenience of the public. Editorials and sub-editorials are devoted to this purpose. Declamations are made against the strikers—vociferous denunciation, invective and abuse are slimily poured forth against them, and on behalf of the community a screeching and wailing literally rents the air.

The dear old "Community!" The poor old, long-suffering creature!! Only think of the loss of wages to the employees and profits to the bosses! And what a pity for the poor females who are more doll than women and males that are more female than men, who are made to walk and suffer their tootsies to weariness—it's a shame! The strikers should be made to pay the penalty—the community must not be so outraged.

A hypnotised public reads the excretions of our morality mongers, and is gulled by the apparent concern of the prostituted press on behalf of this "holy community." Strikes undoubtedly involve inconvenience to the public at large, and more so to the strikers themselves, but what causes the private property interests to squeal like a stuck pig is that it feels the blow in the tenderest part of its anatomy, the pocket-book. It is then that the press begins to bray on behalf of the community—its sham concern is sickening to the sophisticated reader. He can see how propertied interests are adroitly transposed into morality. The lowest and most sordid passions of the dominant class are given the stamp of morality, while the plute press conspire to intimidate the strikers back to work by beguiling the public with an amazing hotch-potch of sophistry and sentimental slobber about the "community."

The Australian Socialist Party

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.

Objective.

The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth of society, whilst it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest of the wealth is appropriated by the capitalist class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the division of this wealth, each class striving to obtain possession of a greater portion. This conflict of interests begets a never-ceasing struggle known as the class war, some section or other of the working class being ever engaged in actual conflict.

Political Action and the State.

The struggle forces the workers to organise on the industrial field. But this organisation inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that combination of legal, judicial and coercive forces, which is directed by parliament (the executive of the capitalist system), is the weapon with which the capitalist class defeats the workers on the industrial field. Finding themselves in conflict with the State, the workers are forced to find political expression for their economic organisations.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces its political reflex, the A.S.P. recognises the use of revolutionary political action on the above basis, as distinct from the palliative-mongering parliamentarism of non-revolutionary parties, to be essential to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political action then is only of value to the working-class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power.

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS.

Whosoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

BROKEN HILL.

Socialist Hall, Sulphide St.

All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

47 Victoria St., Melbourne.

Library and Reading Room for members.

Lectures held every Sunday Evening.

Economic Class every Wednesday evening.

Visitors welcomed.

MT. LARCOM.

Secretary, Chas. Jacobsen, Mt. Larcom, via Gladston.

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Hall: Hatte's Arcade, King St., Newtown.

Library for Members.

Business meeting held alternate Thursday evening.

Propaganda meetings held every Saturday and Sunday Evenings, at Newtown Bridge.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall: 369 Pitt St., City.

Library for members.

Lecture every Sunday evening.

Debating class held every Monday evening.

Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.

Dance every Friday evening.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Ancient Lowly—C. Osborne Ward; 2 vols., cloth, 16/-; posted 16/6.

Ancient Society—Lewis H. Morgan; cloth, 6/-; posted, 6/3.

Britain for the British—R. Blatchford; paper cover, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Capital—Karl Marx; 3 vols., 8/- each; posted, 8/6.

Charles Darwin and Karl Marx—E. Aveling; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.

Economic Discontent—Father T. J. Hagerty; paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

Economics of Socialism—H. M. Hyndman; cloth, 3/6; posted, 3/9.

Human Slaughter House—W. Lamazus; paper, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

Introduction to Socialism—N. A. Richardson; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.

Merrie England—R. Blatchford; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Mutual Aid—P. Kropotkin; paper, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

New Socialism, The—R. R. La-Monte; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Put up the Sword—Adela Pankhurst; paper, 2/6; posted, 2/9.

Positive School of Crimonology—Enrico Ferri; cloth, 2/-; posted, 2/2.

Principles of Scientific Socialism—Rev. Vale; paper, 1/-; posted, 1/1.

Right to be Lazy—P. Lafargue; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Socialism the Goal of Civilisation—paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

IMPORTANT.

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

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